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PROPAGANDA MILL GRINDS ON

IS WORLD WAR III NEAR IN S.E. ASIA?

Three months before the Korean War the late American writer Agnes Smedley, whose understanding of the Far East was based on many hard but rewarding years with the Chinese people's army, wrote in England an article which the GUARDIAN reprinted July 26, 1950.

"A dreadful war plot is being hatched in the Far East," she wrote, "and it includes not only Formosa and Japan, but Indo-China. Yet the secret forces behind this plot are not yet known to the people of the world, certainly not to the peoples of Japan, America, Britain and some of the countries of Europe. To expose and protest, and finally to appeal to the people of America in particular, is the role of every peaceable man of the western world. But it must be done soon, otherwise the plot will reach its fulfillment in a new world war, beginning in the Far East."

Miss Smedley described how already at that time Japanese troops, officers and pilots were being brought in thousands to Formosa for eventual use by Chiang Kai-shek against the new China; part of the U.S. fleet was concentrated in Chinese waters; and plans for using South Korea as an air base against Manchuria were afoot.

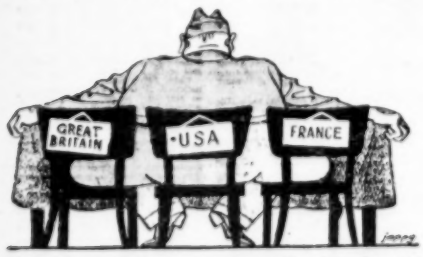
The explosive situation in Southeast Asia today, after 18 months of fruitless "police action" in Korea and 7 of "truce negotiations" there, point up anew the prophetic urgency of Miss Smedley's call to Americans to "expose and protest." Her warning was rightly of "a new world war beginning in the Far East," for any idea of a "limited war" carried to the soil of China is an illusion. The facts are here; the protest is up to you.

By Tabitha Petran

A SERIES of events, ominously reminiscent of the curtain-raiser to America's undeclared war in Korea, is now approaching an explosive climax with Indo-China as the immediate storm-center and the "soft underbelly" of China proper as the target of Washington planners.

U.S. "intervention" in Korea came less than a month after the Syngman Rhee regime began to collapse in the Korean elections of May, 1950. Rhee's ambassador warned Washington that only immediate U.S. action could avert the collapse. John Foster Dulles' hurried trip to Korea (where he was photographed in South Korean trenches on June 20) was followed five days later by the outbreak of hostilities and initiation of the Truman "police action," now a 19-months-old war which has totally destroyed Korea.

The present, similar "crisis" on China's southwest border has been in the making since very soon after MacArthur's drive to the Yalu brought Chinese forces into the Korean War. To justify extending the war to Indo-China, a "threat" of Chinese invasion of Indo-China has been carefully built up, providing a pretext for a U.S. rescue mission for the tottering European colonial powers in Southeast Asia.



Tvorba, Prague
The Big 3 sit down

Paralleling the 1950 plea of Rhee's ambassador—for "armed intervention" to avert collapse of a government the people rejected—was this month's visit of French Gen. Alphonse Juin to Washington. Juin's warning of impending collapse of French rule in Indo-China, received against a background of similar warnings of British defeat in Malaya, "stunned" the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As a result, the imminent possibility confronts the nation of a new Korea, which this time may not be stopped short of World War III.

THE grand design for U.S. war against China began to take shape in the spring of 1951, when:

• Washington sent an oversize military mission to Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. The N.Y. Times reported from Formosa (Apr. 22):

It is very unlikely that new equipment and techniques would be devoted to expansion of what is already a satisfactory defense. The conclusion drawn by most observers is that the U.S. does intend to help the Nationalists set up an effective attack weapon.

Hanson Baldwin (NYT, April 22) said

South China

. . . is still but loosely held by the Communists and a strong Nationalist landing on the mainland some months hence might well accomplish major results.

Michael James reported from Formosa (NYT, May 5):

The Nationalists place little importance on the State Dept.'s insistence that forthcoming aid is purely defensive. They remark that Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, as head of the military mission, has refused to discuss openly any such limitations. Immediately after his arrival he explained that he was here to help the Nationalist forces regardless of their location.

• Indo-China received the same month "a priority on U.S. arms second only to that given UN forces in the Korean War" (U.S. News, Jan. 18). The exact amount of U.S. military aid to Indo-China is secret, but (NYT, Jan. 13, 1952)

. . . it is accurate to say that hundreds of millions of dollars worth of materiel has arrived and practically every unit in the anti-Communist forces of Indo-China has some American equipment. Many units are entirely equipped with late American materiel.

• Washington began aiding and equipping Chinese Nationalist troops who had fled to Burma and Thailand after Chiang's defeat, and who now, under Gen Li Mi, began raids sometimes on a large scale into South China. Washington's diplomatic disclaimers were negated by the boasts of Sen. John Sparkman, U.S. UN delegate (NYT, June 25, 1951); by the testimony of Burmese officials (AP, July 22); and by French officials in Indo-China who held (NYT, Aug. 8) "that the U.S. has played an important role through the Central Intelligence Agency in the Chinese Nationalist move out of Burma."

• The U.S. held its first formal conference with the Southeast Asia colonial powers in Singapore (May, 1951).

• The design became clearer when William C. Bullitt in May, N.Y. Gov. Dewey in July —both powerful China Lobby figures—visited Indo-China. A few days after Dewey's visit it was reported from Indo-China (NYT, Aug. 8) that the U.S. wanted to use Chiang troops in Burma as part of

. . . a joint plan for the defense of Southeast Asia. [But] the French continue to be of the opinion that the Nationalist cause is hopeless. Observers here, however, feel that the opinion is slowly changing.

• In September, French Far East commander de Lattre was summoned to Washington, where it was reported (NYT, Sept. 19) that as a result of "U.S. pressure" Paris had made

. . . a complete change of face [toward Chiang] . . . A "rapprochement" between the French and the Nationalists has been much sought by Washington . . . [It] is now virtually essential.

The tempo quickens

After the de Lattre visit:

• In Paris on the way back to the front, de Lattre said (NYT, Oct. 4) that one of the main reasons for optimism was the far-sighted way "the U.S. had recognized that in Korea and Indo-China the enemy was the same, and as a result of which 'urgent needs which I explained in the U.S. are going to be met rapidly.'" The same day, the Nationalists in Formosa said "the Chinese Communists had completed plans to intervene in Indo-China's civil war this fall.

• The State Dept., in a policy bulletin on Oct. 5, said the rebels in Indo-China (i.e., the Viet Nam people's government which holds large areas of Indo-China, has formal diplomatic relations with nine nations) "must be decisively conquered down to the last pocket of resistance. . . . The independence of six countries . . . depends on holding the line in Indo-China." The Dept. noted that these six countries or colonies produce 80% of the "free world's" rubber, 50% of its

(Continued on Page 3)

The program for Southeast Asia

A French sentry and a Vietminh freedom fighter both lie dead — killed by each other's hands. Behind the Hitler-like red-scare propaganda barrage raised by Washington (remember how Poland "menaced" the Third Reich?) lies one thing: more of the same death represented in the picture. But there could be something new added too: American bodies.

PULLING AMERICA'S LEG

Truman's 'monstrous' report

THERE were three reports on the state of the Western world last week: the President's optimistic economic report; the United Nations' pessimistic one; and Prime Minister Churchill's message to Congress which to many Britons seemed the greatest surrender since Yorktown. Of the first, the **Wall St. Journal** commented:

The law calls for Mr. Truman to deliver this annual report to Congress. That is the only excuse we can see for it.

The President began: "The past year has been marked by great gains in our basic economic strength." Said **WSJ:**

In a twelve-months when the men and resources of the country were being used in the wholly destructive business of fighting a war in Korea; when more men and resources were devoted to the wholly unproductive pursuits of making and getting ready to make armaments; with that going on there have been "great gains in our basic economic strength." Surely the advisability of spending on rearmament does not justify the monstrous statement that somehow the economic foundations have been strengthened thereby.

SOFT SHOULDERS: The President insisted that the burden of war fell on strong shoulders, maintaining:

"An expanding economy has paid particularly rich dividends, in helping us to assume new burdens of world responsibility."

Actually, despite record-breaking arms expenditures, the index of U.S. industrial production was the same in Dec., 1951, as in Dec., 1950. Military buying last year consumed 10% of all leather and cotton, 15% of rubber, 33% of wool, 11% of steel, 29% of aluminum, 18% of copper, not counting metals indirectly used for military purposes either in machinery to make equipment or for military production overseas.

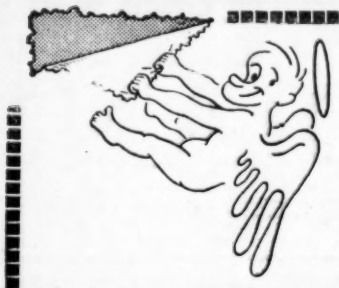
Unemployment gripped Michigan automobile centers and New England textile towns. Though some sought to explain the auto industry slump by material shortages, the **WSJ** quoted one businessman as saying:

"Production limitation orders come just in time for the auto and appliance industries. Now they can blame materials shortages for the cutbacks they would have had to institute anyway for lack of sales."

Drawing by J. E. Trivero
HARRY'S '52 SPRING STYLE

Last week the **Journal of Commerce** said of the textile industry: "Demand has fallen to the lowest level in months, causing curtailment and unemployment." Francis W. White, pres. of the American Woolen Co., in announcing withdrawal of A.W.C. plants from

(Continued on Page 4)



RENEW HERE — AND NOW!

Your address-plate, now appearing out front (on the reverse of this box), tells the month and year your sub expires. "1-52" means Jan., 1952—THIS MONTH. To renew quickly:

JUST CLIP OUT THIS BOX, AIRMAIL TODAY WITH $2.

In acknowledgment, may we send you your choice of the friendly offerings listed below? Check one.

- ☐ "WE CHARGE GENOCIDE," a "must" for every progressive bookshelf in America.
- ☐ King-size Batiste handkerchief from the Philippines, with hand-rolled hem.
- ☐ Three fine Irish linen women's handkerchiefs, 11" square, hemstitched.
- ☐ Charming gift box of three colorfully embroidered girls' handkerchiefs.

REPORT TO READERS

Yes, that's your name out there on page 1

THIS IS THE YEAR in which the Powers That Be have decided that it is now or never to impose eternal winter on the world.

We feel safe nevertheless in holding to the view that stern decree and force of arms will not successfully stay the coming of spring—99.44% of all the free world's editorial writers, radio and television pundits, military and political pap artists to the contrary notwithstanding.

However, merely that they cannot succeed is no good reason for not opposing such bleak-minded elements, since it must be conceded that they can make life pretty miserable for an awful lot of people with their efforts.

SO WE RETURN to our most frequent topic on this page of your weekly GUARDIAN—the matter of your subscription renewal and your best effort to bring this antidote to the wintermongers to the mailboxes of more and more Americans.

For all subscribers, we have this week instituted a change in our addressing methods which we frankly admit has a devilishly clever purpose. We know just as well as you do that the letters page is the most popular in the GUARDIAN. We know you read it first, return to it later, use it to prove to people that there is, too, a town in America named Scappoose.

So henceforth we will lead this page with your renewal blank (above) and your mailing address-plate stenciled right on back of it (see front page). You can tell in a trice if you are in arrears. All you have to do is stuff the blank in an envelope with $2 and we'll know who it's from by your stencil-plate on the back.

THE DATE CODE on each stencil-plate is by month and year of expiration. Right now there are some 3,500 subscribers whose address-plates read "1-52" and "2-52." This means that these subs are expiring in January (1) and February (2) 1952, and are up for renewal NOW.

Is yours one of them? Flip the page and take a look.

If you looked and by chance noticed that your plate has a "—51" in it, we both ought to be a bit ashamed—we for not forcing this regrettable oversight to your attention earlier, and you for waiting until we did.

If your own sub is in good standing or in the process, we hereby make you a friendly proposition: the premium offerings above hold good for new subs sent in on the blank below. Use the blank on top to select your premium when you sign up the newcomers. Yours for spring in '52 and after.

John T. McManus

YOUR NEIGHBORS

Need NATIONAL GUARDIAN—the GUARDIAN needs your neighbors. Show this issue to a neighbor and sign him up today.

$2 a year — $1 for 30 weeks

Name and address (include postal zone)

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$..... enclosed.

SENDER .....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7

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THE MAIL BAG

Letter to Eisenhower

BALTIMORE, MD.

My dear General:

You are the blind date of the year. You are running for President yet you have told us nothing about your platform. We want to know what policies you will follow. Do you wish to bomb the cities of China? Such bombardment may break the stalemate and win for us victory. On the other hand such tactics may bring a rain of atom bombs and still more deadly atomic rockets down on Baltimore. I and all other Baltimoreans have a right to know how you will answer the above question.

Lewis Bayard Robinson

Let's do it proper

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Please register my wrathful protest against the subversive methods by which the Republicans are attempting to pry Eisenhower away from his noble job and are coercing him to become our President.

The proper democratic procedure is to petition the free Europeans to send our Ike home. And petition Stalin to postpone his aggression until our new general takes over our OPERATION KILLER machinery and learns how to run it on European topography. **Vincent Noga**

Protest

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I've covered up the ink, put away the pen,
Locked the typewriter — I'll not write again.
I'll say it with flowers; semaphores I'll use,
Even smoke signals—but tuppenny postals I refuse. **John Kola**

Telling Talmadge

MONTROSE, IOWA

Two days before the story broke about the Negro war veteran who could not get buried in Phoenix, Ariz., the Keokuk Daily Gate reported a blast by Georgia's Gov. Talmadge calling on southerners to boycott sponsors of TV shows in which white and Negro performers are shown together. Both stories are disgraceful. We live where there are lots of colored people, we mingle with them, and if some of these so-called nice people were just half as decent it would be a wonderful world. Decent people will fight against this race business. I have written Gov. Talmadge:

"Colored boys have fought and died right alongside the boys from Iowa and Arizona and all the other states, fighting for right, for freedom and for you—a man that stabs them in the back. When you see a colored soldier with an arm or leg missing, remember he lost them while fighting your battle, a battle you weren't man enough to fight. If you searched your soul, would you find even a tiny grain of kindness or love—outside of love for greed and power? Why don't you join people like Hitler wherever he is? And if he's where I hope he is, that's strictly where you belong."

Marie Washburne

How crazy can you get dept.

Some 50 candy machines have been seized by Wheeling police for allegedly emitting Communist propaganda. . . . The trinkets are pasteboard pennants about half the size of a postage stamp. On one side is a yellow hammer and sickle on a red background and on the other side is printed: "U.S.S.R., Population 211,000,000. Capital Moscow. Largest country in the world." . . . Trinkets bearing the names of other countries were mixed in with the "chewing gum balls and jawbreakers."

"That's a terrible thing to expose the children of this city to," said Mr. [Wheeling city manager] Plummer. "I have demanded a complete investigation." The names of the store owners to whom the machines were licensed have been turned over to the FBI.

Pittsburgh Press, Jan. 13

A free year's sub to the sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Connie Norvick, Evans City, Pa.

She's terrific, too!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Sounds a little Helen Hokinsonish, but here goes: You're terrific. Your issue this morning compelled me to do the following:

(1) Wire the President 75 emphatic words about Peace by Xmas; (2) Write Commissioner McCloy to release Lilly Waechter; (3) Write the E-Z strikers and send a contribution; (4) Write for the **Labor Fact Book**; (5) Write for the **States Laws on Race and Color** book, a work I've long wanted to see.

Yesterday I sent you some money for 5 subs.

Well, this is a note of thanks to you for being "on guard."

Ruth Frank

Burchett, Sr. & Jr.

VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

I would like to congratulate you on your continued loyalty to the cause of the people, when so many others have fallen out. I am the father of W. G. Burchett. He too is a fighter who does not falter. He has resigned from lucrative positions with Daily Express and The Times (London), after 10 years service, that he might be free to write the truth. We are publishing his book on China and hope to have it on the market this month. He is now in Korea covering the peace (?) talks and tells me he has collected sensational material for a book on this "total war" waged by the United (?) Nations.

It is very gratifying to me, an old man in his 80th year, who in his youth looked upon the U.S. as the great citadel of freedom, to know that those apostates who are now violating the fundamental principles of democracy are being so bravely opposed by many of the noblest of the Americans—even at the point of their lives and liberties.

G. H. Burchett

The plea of babes

KENVIL, N. J.

I have read and reread that wonderful masterpiece "The Symphony of the World" (Dec. 26 issue.) It is something that every human being should be proud of, and yet many many of them should hold their heads in shame (and especially in the U. S. A.) **L. A. Young**

The "big news"

TRUCKSVILLE, PA.

Herewith is a letter I have just written the New Yorker magazine:

"Somewhat belatedly but with the customary pleasure I have just read the "Talk of the Town" in the Dec. 29, 1951, issue of the New Yorker. I am particularly interested in the "big news" story in the newspapers of which you write — the list of names and addresses of the prisoners-of-war released by the Govt.

"For your information, a small and struggling newspaper, NATL. GUARDIAN, has been publishing names of prisoners-of-war held in North Korea for months, and readers of the publication have been notifying relatives of men in their vicinity, to offer hope. I enclose a clipping from a recent issue of the GUARDIAN to show how far from the "desire for human-interest material" this service has been.

"These GUARDIAN lists, which started to appear nine months before any appeared in the big newspapers of the country, were available to the latter as well as the GUARDIAN. Since the names of prisoners-of-war came from North Korea to the U.S. months before negotiations for a truce started, I think your assertion that the enemy does not believe the individual really matters may be a false assumption. Let us, even when dealing with our enemies, give credit where credit is due. My personal opinion, for what it is worth, has always been that they care quite as much as we do.

"I mention the hitherto published lists that you may know that a small publication that has courageously kept its head above water for several years past, presenting aspects of national and world events that one cannot possible obtain in the larger press of this country, actually has been 'scooping' this prisoner-of-war story for months, but with no fanfare or glory save that glory that brings comfort to grieving families."

Charlotte Lance

Mink in the ring?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Since the Republican candidates have thrown their hats in the ring, would it not be appropriate for the Democrats to throw in their mink coats? **S. B.**

The miner returned

BRIGANTINE, N.J.

GUARDIAN's picture (Jan. 2) of the weeping girl whose husband was down the mine after the West Frankfort disaster appeared also in Life. Your caption read "He will not return"; Life reported he did return safe and sound. This may seem like a picayune point, but some people would feel that if you were capable of inaccuracy for the sake of creating an effect in such a small matter, you would be capable of more inaccuracy in larger matters. Please don't let your enthusiasm run away with you to the extent that you give liberals, who probably are looking for an escape anyway, an easy out.

I will pledge $1 a month; your particular mixture of passion and reason welded into a magnificent purpose thrills me right down to the tips of my toes. **Now-on reader**

We recognize the error and appreciate the admonition. Unaware of the particular circumstances of the girl pictured and her husband, we used the picture without identification as a symbol of the tragedy brought to scores of W. Frankfort women. Ed.

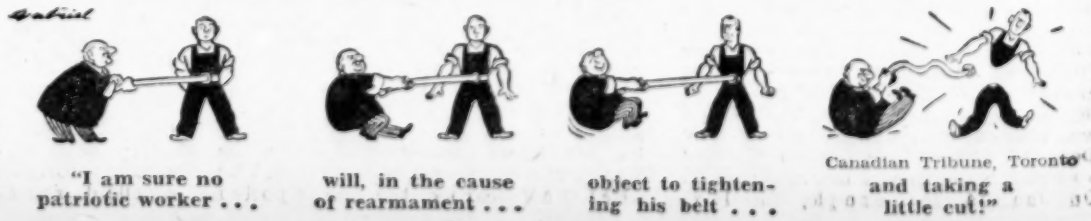
For a sunny day

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I like your attitude toward writers but at the moment I need it less than you do. So here it is back.

I'll take a rain check towards the day the GUARDIAN is ensconced in Rockefeller Center. **Carl Marzani**

Our "attitude toward writers" is that we have always paid them for their work, however modestly. Ed.



"I am sure no patriotic worker . . . will, in the cause of rearmament . . . object to tightening his belt . . . and taking a little cut!"

Canadian Tribune, Toronto

World War III in South East Asia?

(Continued from Page 1)

tin, and are the world's greatest rice area.

• U.S. Army Chief of Staff Collins flew to Indo-China in mid-October for a tour of the war theater. AP reported (Oct. 22): "His trip is accepted here as another indication of steadily broadening U.S. support and concern for the French Vietnamese war effort." By mid-November Collins had conferred in Formosa and Thailand with U.S. military mission heads, Thailand's Premier, Chiang and his Southeast Asia representatives. Far East reports hinted that these talks dealt with plans to use Chiang troops against China's "soft underbelly." Gen. Chase (Oct. 10) and Collins (Oct. 26) promised Chiang more arms "so that you may be better able to fight in our common war of free people against Communist dictatorship."

• At the Rome NATO meeting in November, the French General Staff submitted "a bulky memorandum" to Gen. Omar Bradley demanding that strategy must be global and an over-all defense of Indo-China, Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma and Thailand undertaken (Newsweek, Jan. 14).

• In December Peking charged that the U.S. was ferrying Chiang troops from Formosa to Thailand and Burma. Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky with a wealth of detail repeated the charge in the UN Assembly Jan. 3. Commenting on Vishinsky's charge, the N.Y. Herald Tribune admitted Jan. 7: "There are indications that the possibility for finding service for the Nationalists outside the island has at least been under review"—and called for their use in Southeast Asia.

HOW THEY BRING THE NEWS TO THE PEOPLE

This is the editorial office of "Cuu Quoc" in free Viet Nam. Editor Xuan Thuy is the smiling man sitting down. When the paper is printed it is distributed in some centers and in others read aloud over horn loud-speakers to the peasants. The original of this picture (sent to us by GUARDIAN correspondent George Wheeler in Prague) was carried by foot for six days by a Viet Minh delegate to the congress of the Intl. Organization of Journalists in Helsinki last year.

The propaganda mill builds the crisis

In Malaya, the British press almost unanimously admitted defeat last November. The partisans "are getting on top," said London's **Daily Mail**; said the N.Y. **World Telegram** (Nov. 21):

> Britain is losing the war in strategic Malaya where its forces outnumber those of the Reds some 17 to 1.

A conference of British representatives in Bukit Serene, Malaya (Nov. 23-26) decided Malaya could be saved only as part of an "overall defense" of all Southeast Asia by a U.S.-led coalition. Frederick Kuh (Chicago **Sun-Times**, Jan. 13) pointed out that Burma was an even greater worry:

> British leaders believe the peril in Burma is greater than anywhere in Southeast Asia. They are less afraid of a Chinese Communist attack across Burma's frontier than of a victorious internal uprising against the moderate government of Thakin Nu. . . . A U.S. government expert described Burma as "the softest, mushiest spot in that whole area. The Communists could capture it by telephone."

French politicians from Foreign Minister Schuman on down have bluntly conceded France cannot continue the Indo-China war. From people, parliament and government (**NYT**, Jan. 13) has come pressure to end the war by an over-all Far East settlement. The anti-Communist **Franc-Tireur** (quoted by N.Y. **World Telegram**, Jan. 8) said a secret vote would find a majority of parliament opposed to continuing the fight. A London **Sunday Times** report (Dec. 30) was headlined FRANCE MOVING TOWARDS RECOGNITION OF PEKING TO PROTECT INDO-CHINA.

GRADE "C" PROPAGANDA: But as pressure to end the war mounted in France, in the U.S. a concerted propaganda campaign began about a Chinese "threat" to Indo-China. The French General Staff, now wholly a creature of Washington, provided the fuel. The Alsop brothers (Jan. 2) reported that de Lattre had warned that "the Chinese Communists are planning a major invasion of Indo-China"; there was daily "news" of massing of Chinese troops; grave columnists' "analyses" and thundering editorials followed. The output was transparently the product of State Dept. briefings. There was no evidence and the campaign was unusually crude. On Jan. 14, for example, the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** front-page-headlined:

> INDO-CHINA REBELS GET RED-BUILT RADAR GUNS — DOWN TEN FRENCH PLANES—REDS BELIEVED SET TO OPEN OFFENSIVE—NEW RUSSIAN EQUIPMENT INDICATES BUILDUP FOR PUSH IS COMPLETE.

Buried in a N.Y. **Times** dispatch from Paris next day was a complete denial of this story. Edward Weintal (**Newsweek**, Jan. 14) wrote:

> The most recent reports of increased Chinese military activity in the border regions have been examined and found not convincing. The more sensational ones emanated from sources graded as "C" and below and were mostly of Chinese Nationalist origin. French officials privately believe that nothing more than a new and improved Vietminh [Viet Nam liberation forces] campaign is to be expected at this time.

FROM DEWEY TO JUIN: But the propaganda build-up went on. Gov. Dewey in an alarmist speech (Jan. 5) demanded a U.S. guarantee of Indo-China's integrity; Truman's State of the Union message (Jan. 8) twice referred to "further trouble" in Southeast Asia, especially Indo-China and Malaya. British Foreign Secy. Eden warned China that intervention in Indo-China, even if only by volunteers, would be answered on the Korea pattern. As France's government fell—partly a demonstration of its inability to fight on in Indo-China—Paris dispatches warned that if the U.S. did not come to the rescue France would pull out, just as five years ago the British threatened to pull out of Greece if the U.S. did not come in.

With the stage thus set, France's Gen. Juin dramatically arrived to present to a Pentagon Southeast Asia conference a report on France's collapsing position in Indo-China. Juin (who was once called "reliable" and worthy of Hitler's trust by Nazi Ambassador to France Otto Abetz, earned the title "Butcher" as Resident-Gen. of Morocco, gloried in the "opportunity to fight the British" in North Africa in World War II) "stunned" the Pentagon conferees, military heads of the U.S. and Britain and air representatives of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. He painted "a black picture," press reports agreed. The GUARDIAN learned that he reported the certain collapse of the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China at the first big push, and a dwindling of popular support so rapid that the puppet regime no longer dared conscript natives.

PHANTOM THREAT: What commitments did Washington make to Juin? Nothing was said officially; Juin said he was "happy." French sources said he was promised several jet-fighter squadrons from Japan, the help of part of the 7th Fleet defending Formosa, and some 50,000 Chiang troops—all predicated on a Chinese attack. James Reston (**NYT**, Jan. 14) wrote:

> Gen. Juin said he did not ask the U.S. to commit ground troops to Indo-China, but asked for U.S. air and naval units and coordinated staff work in the event of a Chinese assault. This was discussed in the Pentagon meeting, he said, and added that he was confident he would get what was necessary if the Chinese should make war. . . . Throughout the interview, Gen. Juin did not mention any evidence to support the growing fears of a Chinese Communist attack on Southeast Asia. He merely implied that, if an armistice was arranged in Korea, the Chinese might turn their power in that direction.

The franker **Wall St. Journal** pointed out that Juin wanted U.S. intervention "whether the Chinese drive over the border or not." (The "evidence" could be produced at the opportune moment.)

"VOLUNTEERS" TO ORDER: Robert S. Allen (N.Y. **Post**, Jan. 17) said Juin told Gen. Bradley the number of Chinese volunteers in Indo-China was "five times greater than previously." French sources said the State Dept. claimed proof of thousands of Chinese volunteers operating in Indo-China. Eden's warning to include volunteers was carefully-phrased and significant: an invasion might be hard to fake, but "volunteers" could easily be discovered. I. F. Stone noted (N.Y. **Compass**, Jan. 17):

> There is little physical difference between the peoples on either side of the border. . .. In death it would be hard to tell from which side a soldier came. What if mistaken reports or false reports stampeded the UN into action over Indo-China?

Maj. Gen. Graves Erskine, in a Southeast Asia survey for the Joint Chiefs, "states flatly there is no evidence that the Chinese Communists have sent troops into Indo-China" (Robert S. Allen, Nov. 29). London's **Sunday Times** (Dec. 30) reported:

> The Chinese have been careful to send no "volunteers" into the Indo-China fighting. Chinese action is limited for the moment to equipping and training Vietminh guerrilla troops and keeping them supplied over the Kwangsi border.

Whatever military aid the Vietminh have got from China has in any case been substantially less than the French have had from the U.S. (**NYT**, Jan. 13).

BACK TO MacARTHUR: U.S. intervention in Indo-China does not aim at creating another Korea. The Joint Chiefs of Staff "shudder at the prospect of another 'localized war' in Asia" (UP from Washington, Jan. 11). As the N.Y. **World Telegram** commented (Jan. 15):

> The war in Indo-China is being waged in jungles where air and sea power would not be particularly effective. Gen. Juin's statement [hinting that he got air and naval support] makes sense only when considered in connection with Anthony Eden's speech last Friday. . . . These statements suggest that direct military action is contemplated against Red China itself. . . . Such a decision, if it has been made, would mean that our Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as the British Government, have come all the way around to the position taken by Gen. Douglas MacArthur months ago.

The "limited war" plan

Paving the way for launching of the U.S. war on China is Winston Churchill's reversal of British Far East policy. The reversal was hinted at in the Truman-Churchill communique which warned that disagreements over China were transcended by their determination to "consider the Communist threat" in Southeast Asia; made clearer in Eden's warning and in British surrender on Chiang's signing the Japanese peace treaty; fully exposed in Churchill's speech to Congress, in which he lined Britain up beside the U.S. in the defense of Formosa and backed Washington's threat of all-out war on China if the truce in Korea fails.

The **Wall St. Journal's** Ray Cromley, whose information sources are always excellent, reported (Jan. 17):

> CHINA WAR PLAN: U.S. GETS BRITISH OKAY TO BOMB, BLOCKADE MAO HOMELAND IF TRUCE FAILS. . . . Nucleus of the plan: If the Red Chinese make a truce and break it—or if they don't make a truce and instead start a full scale offensive in Korea—the U.S. will carry the war to China itself. . . .
>
> We'll slap a tight naval blockade on Communist China. . . . We'll bomb her airfields. . . . We'll bomb practically all her key railway junctions and marshalling yards . . . her key arsenals and power plants. And we'll step up the land drive in Korea—with a big "killer" drive. . . .
>
> But this will be a limited war. We won't go as far as Gen. MacArthur proposed last summer. We won't bomb China's big cities; we'll use pinpoint bombing on limited targets like airfields, railway yards, arsenals and power plants to spare the civilian population. We won't land American troops in China. We don't plan to back a landing of Chiang's Nationalist troops. . . .
>
> Military officials here don't figure this stepped up war would defeat China or cause her to collapse. They don't think the naval blockade would strangle Red China economically. . . .

UNLIMITED NONSENSE: Commenting on Cromley's dispatch, I. F. Stone (**Compass**, Jan. 18) asked:

> Is anybody fatuous enough to believe that we can bomb another nation and keep the war limited? . . . We weren't going to land [troops] in Korea either. . . . This is the language of military morons.

This threat came at a moment when the Korean truce talks were in the most serious deadlock yet. U.S. negotiators are demanding not only a ban on repair and construction of North Korean airfields, but also exchange only of "prisoners who want to be exchanged" —a demand which would permit the U.S. to send Chinese prisoners to Formosa. On this the Chinese will never yield, as U.S. negotiators well know.

At the same time provocations over China have been resumed, according to Peking charges of three big Airforce penetrations since last December.

THE LAST BULWARK: The seriousness of the situation in Korea was emphasized by Vishinsky who told the UN

THIS IS MALAYA

Chinese laborer bathes washed tin

Assembly Jan. 17 that "unreasonable" U.S. demands kill the hope of a truce.

The UN Assembly, as Thomas J. Hamilton said in the N.Y. **Times** Jan. 13, overwhelmingly opposes expansion of the war in the Far East. But the "most paradoxical" (Hamilton) thing about the Korean War is "the limited information in the UN about the conduct of negotiations to halt a war in which the UN is involved."

UN has given in step by step to each U.S. demand in the Far East. If it acquiesces now, as Churchill has acquiesced to the U.S. military designs for open war on China, World War III will have begun.

HST kids America in 'monstrous' report

(Continued from Page 1)

Massachusetts to the South (where the highly-publicized CIO drive collapsed a year ago), said that without government contracts last year would have been "one of the worst in our history."

"POST-REARMING" DOUBTS: The President advocated more and more government buying for war purposes with taxpayers' money. In an election year few Congressmen dared back his plea for yet another $5 billion in taxes.

War production, though clearly meaning no general prosperity, had a momentum of its own so that even a leveling-off terrified some economists. Columbia University Prof. James W. Angell and a committee of five wrote a 48-page report for UN Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie; fearing a "post-rearmament recession," they said:

> **The real danger to the economic stability of the rest of the world lies in recessions originating in the U. S.**

The alternatives facing Washington were to carry the war further, or to permit some relaxation of world tension by responding to the many Soviet moves for settlement. When Churchill left Washington last week, the decision seemed clear: speed up the war.

The rumbling volcano

Other developments in volcanic political areas:

- At UN the new Soviet concessions on A-bomb control, greeted frigidly by the U. S. and Britain, were tossed to the newly-created, Western-dominated disarmament commission.
- In West Germany, where nearly 2,000,000 are unemployed and "more than one third of the nation on the dole" (N. Y. **Times,** Jan. 21), plans to conscript 500,000 men for an army were announced.
- The week-end after Churchill in Washington yielded previous British positions on China, called for U. S rescue in Malaya and Suez, British troops cordoned off Ismailia in the Suez Canal zone and fighting flared more dangerously following the shooting there of an American nun.
- French forces battled Tunisians, killing seven in an effort to suppress a drive for minimum self-rule.
- "On the basis of an exchange of letters" Premier Mossadegh of Iran, publicly threatened with assassination by Moslem extremists, accepted $23,000,000 in U. S. Point Four aid.
- Churchill went home to face a storm brewing among Labour backbenchers as even the conservative London **Times** and Liberal **Manchester Guardian** agreed he had "gone too far" in Washington. Final symbol of his capitulation was seen in the acceptance of a U S. admiral as Western commander in the Atlantic. The N. Y. **Times'** Raymond Daniell wrote from London:

> **The British people are beginning to wonder what it is that the Americans do to British statesmen.**

The people lick Metropolitan Life

. . . looked out the window and what did he see?
A thousand pickets; and they all agree:
He's a BASTARD!

—Old union song

METROPOLITAN Life Insurance Co. looked out its window in Stuyvesant Town, New York, one morning last week, and there, sure enough, were a thousand pickets—and thousands more to come.

And they all agreed that, come hell or high court decrees, Metropolitan was not going to get away with evicting 19 tenants who had led the fight to kayo Metropolitan's exclusion of Negro tenants from its lofty public-assisted housing project on Manhattan's East Side.

Until the pickets showed up, the evictions looked like a sure thing. The U. S. Supreme Court had refused to stay them; New York's "people's" Mayor Impellitteri had washed his hands of the case; the date and hour had been set for Thursday morning.

THE HEAT IS ON: The picketing started last Monday, mobilized by the American Labor Party and a couple of New York's toughest unions—District 65, Distributing, Processing and Office Workers; and United Electrical Workers. They gave City Hall a workout first, then set up a day and night vigil around Metropolitan's home office in Madison Square for two days; had a sure-thing 10,000 mobilized for dawn Thursday morning around Stuyvesant Town itself, with a worked-out plan for safeguarding all the threatened tenants.

Meanwhile Justice Hubert Delaney had taken to the radio with a blistering attack on the kind of government which condones eviction of tenants for fighting discrimination in a public housing project while refusing to act on outrages like the bomb murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida.

Civic leaders and conscience-stricken public officials — newly-elected City Council President Rudolph Halley of Kefauver Committee fame, Republican Robert Moses, a holdover from the days of Al Smith and FDR in New York affairs—began to burn up the wires. Efforts to split up the 19 tenants failed: Metropolitan was willing to let one—a Liberal Party member—stay. "I refuse the medal," the tenant replied.

VICTORY BREAKFAST: Finally at 6 p.m. Wednesday, Metropolitan began to show the white flag; the evictions would be "postponed." But Thursday morning at dawn the subways and busses around Stuyvesant Town began to disgorge the vanguard of the pickets. By 8 a.m. more than 2,000 had assembled, most not knowing of the postponement. When word of the postponement got around, the picket line turned into a celebration, with "victory" breakfasts taking place all over the sprawling project.

By last week-end Metropolitan's rout was complete. All 19 eviction notices were withdrawn; permanent tenancy granted a Negro family whose occupancy in Stuyvesant Town as sub-let tenants had started the battle.

Announcing that the campaign would continue for full compliance with the Brown-Isaacs bill outlawing Metropolitan's color-bar in Stuyvesant Town, ALP leader Paul L. Ross, one of the 19, said:

> **"What has been accomplished must be credited to the vigorous support of the many thousands of citizens, Negro and white, of all political views and religious faiths, and the many civic organizations, ministerial associations, veterans groups and trade unions without whose active aid these democratic principles might not have been sustained in this precedent-setting situation."**

"WE WILL NOT BOW DOWN"

The day they buried Harriett Moore in Florida

(The author of High Treason *was one of the delegation of 20 writers, churchmen, trade unionists, educators and progressive leaders from many states who attended the funeral at Mims, Fla., of Mrs. Harriett Moore, who died of injuries received in the Christmas Day bombing that instantly killed her husband, Florida NAACP leader Harry Moore. Below are excerpts from Mr. Kahn's notes.)*

By Albert E. Kahn

CLUES to the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Moore confronted us from the moment we arrived at Jacksonville airport: segregated waiting rooms, segregated restaurants, segregated hotels. We traveled to Mims in separate cabs since "it would not be safe" for Negroes and whites to be seen in one cab. One delegate remarked as we drove: "It's hard to believe the Civil War was fought and won almost 100 years ago." The Negro cab-driver nodded his head, made no comment.

Services in the church—packed with people, but with no whites until we took seats reserved for us—were simple and brief. Years of suffering and indignities were etched in the faces of these weatherbeaten farmers, elderly men and women, solemn-eyed children and mothers with infants in their arms as they filed past the coffin. Harriett Moore was buried alongside Mr. Moore in the segregated cemetery.

AT THE CAPITOL: In Mims we saw the small frame home where the Moores were murdered—blasted by explosives placed in a trench right under their bedroom. Next day Gov. Fuller Warren received our whole delegation in the state capitol of Tallahassee—a press-shaking event, for few governors, none in southern states, make a practise of receiving mixed Negro-white groups. But the storm of protest against the Florida outrages, the call from Negro leaders for a nation-wide work stoppage, had had some effect.

He was doing everything he could to apprehend those responsible for "the foul and brutal murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore," the Governor said—but the Florida constitution greatly restricted his powers, placing responsibility largely in local authorities' hands. California editor-publisher Mrs. Charlotta Bass, our delegation leader, said:

Rockwell Kent's drawing of the Moore home after the bombing.

> **"We have come to express the grief and indignation of hundreds of thousands in every state in the union. The increasing atrocities and mounting terror against the Negro people, these acts of genocide in Florida, are not only bringing ruinous disgrace to the state but shame and discredit to our nation in the eyes of the entire world. Silence at such a time would be complicity in the crime."**

"WE WON'T BOW DOWN": Mrs. Bass urged for the delegation that Warren take extraordinary emergency measures to bring the guilty to justice, outlaw the Klan in Florida, institute public hearings to end the reign of terror against minorities. She said:

> **"Two Negroes have been sacrificed on the altar to make the Negro people bow down. But we will not bow down."**

Artist Rockwell Kent commented on Warren's plea of limitation of his powers under the constitution:

> **"My constitution imposes limitations on me, too. I am no longer young. But I have traveled here because I know at such a time I must exceed these limitations. I urge that you exceed yours."**

Representatives spoke for these organizations: American Labor Party, United Furniture Workers, Civil Rights Congress, Packinghouse Workers, Baptist Fedn. of Philadelphia, Sojourners for Truth Youth Divn., Emma Lazarus Fedn. of Jewish Women's Clubs, and Progressive Party. In a final exhortation to Warren to end the wave of racist crimes in Florida, Rev. B. Williamson of Jersey City quoted from Proverbs:

> **"The memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot."**

UN-DIXIE ACTIVITIES: Telling the delegation that its views "represent the highest in Americanism," Warren asserted constitutional inability to outlaw the Klan, but pledged additional measures to bring the murderers to justice. He said he would "probably" hold public hearings, then made nation-wide headlines by:

- Upping the reward for the killers' capture from $2,000 to $5,000.
- Inviting the mixed delegation to lunch.

On behalf of the delegation Mrs. Bass accepted this, the first invitation ever given a Negro or mixed group to eat with a Florida governor in the executive mansion. On the way to lunch, CRC's Mrs. Angie Dickerson remarked:

> **"You know, Governor, that in eating with you we are not selling our birthright for a mess of pottage. But we had been wondering where we could get our lunch, since there's no place in Florida where we could eat together."**

That evening we again broke jim-crow by eating together in the airport cafe, while hoodlums watched menacingly and police stood around "for security reasons," as they put it.

●

Concrete developments in the state and federal "hunt" for the Moores' killers, at GUARDIAN press time: zero.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Nominations group picked at N.Y. parley

A COMMITTEE on Presidential and Vice-Presidential Nominations was appointed by the national committee of the Progressive Party during a two-day meeting in New York last week-end "to explore the question of candidates within the Progressive Party and with other groups." Headed by Elmer Benson of Minnesota, chairman of the Progressive Party and former U. S. Senator and governor of his state, the nominations committee included Earl Dickerson and William Miller, Illinois; Vincent Hallinan and Hugh Bryson, California; Fred Stover, Iowa; James Imbrie and Katherine Van Orden, New Jersey; Alice F. Liveright, Pennsylvania; Florence Luscomb, Massachusetts; Vito Marcantonio, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Joseph Selly, John Abt and John T. McManus of New York; C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progressive Party.

FEB. 12 MOBILIZATION: At a preliminary meeting Sunday, the committee agreed to meet again and make recommendations on Feb. 12 in Washington, in conjunction with a party-wide mobilization in the capital to protest the Moore murders in Florida.

The Washington mobilization was proposed by the party's Committee on the Negro Vote and will be held in conjunction with a Lincoln's Birthday mobilization of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, a national organization of Negro women headed by Mrs. Charlotta Bass. GUARDIAN readers wishing to participate should make arrangements with state or local Progressive Party groups or through the national office, 150 W. 46th St., N. Y. C.

A report on other actions of the PP natl. committee meeting will appear in next week's GUARDIAN.

WHAT'S THE OUTLOOK IN 1952 FOR THE FARMER AND FOR ORGANIZED LABOR?

Farm: Bigger crops demanded — with less tools and fewer men

By Lawrence Emery

"The welfare state . . . is that state of twilight in which the glow of democratic freedoms is fading behind the horizon, leaving us to be swallowed in the blackness of socialism or worse."

THIS CLUTTERED RHETORIC came from Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) at last month's Chicago convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, biggest and most conservative of U.S. farm organizations. To stave off a fate worse than socialism, Byrd, together with staunch "economy" advocates like Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) and others, will make a vigorous effort in this session of Congress to destroy existing inadequate price supports and all other government aid to the farmer. They will be abetted by the leadership of the Farm Bureau and Sen. Robert Taft (R-O.) who agree that price support programs should be shelved except during serious economic emergencies. In their corner will also be Master Hershel Newsom of the Grange, second largest of farm organizations. He has proclaimed that "rigid, inflexible price guarantee is unsound," argues that the government "should restrict rather than expand these economic devices which interfere with the operation of price."

UNMAGICAL CLICHES: This leaves the Natl. Farmers Union the sole organization in the field to "fight for improvement of the basic price support laws"; but the NFU leadership is so deeply committed to support of Harry S. Truman's global adventures that the only fight it seems able to wage is against anti-Truman dissidents in its own organization. Even the President is letting them down; he abandoned the Brannan Plan without a fight, and in his State of the Union message he had for farmers only a collection of cliches which have lost their magic since he won the farm vote with them as glowing promises in 1948.

Even if the price support program is improved, and other aids retained, 1952 is likely to be a rough year for the farmer. The **Wall St. Journal** (Nov. 2), summarizing the Dept. of Agriculture's annual "Farm Outlook Conference," wrote:

Boosts in U.S. defense spending planned for the coming year . . . will mean . . . more spending money for farmers.

MORE CROPS, LESS TOOLS: Total farm production for 1951 is likely to set a record. Now the government is urging the farmer to excel it by 4% in 1952, with 3,000,000 more acres of crop land to be planted to meet "the greatest needs we have ever faced." But in 1952 the supply of fertilizer is going to be far short of the demand, production of farm machinery will be reduced in favor of military machinery and arms, and farm manpower is going to be more drastically raided than last year by both the draft and war plant demands.

A boost in total production under these cold war handicaps will be something of a miracle.

In 1951 farmers' production expenses increased 12% over the previous year; for 1952 the Dept. of Agriculture predicts that they will increase another 5%. Prices farmers received for their products declined for most of the year, are expected to decline more next year. From 1947 to 1950 the purchasing power of the farmers' dollar went down 28%;

THE FARMER TAKES STOCK
Cliches won't grow crops

since 1939 the prices they paid for the products they used went up by 121.5%. The prices city consumers paid for farm products went up 87%. Farmers' net income for 1951 was $2,000,000,000 below the peak year of 1947.

Likewise, the farmers' share of the consumer food dollar is steadily shrinking. In early 1951 it was 51c; by the end of the year it was down to 50c; this year it is expected to dwindle to 49c. With all of this, the consumer doesn't eat so well; the 1951 per capita consumption of food was 5% below the 1946 record.

DOWN A MILLION: The average income of farmers is one-half the national average; now the farmer has to cope with an 11½% increase in federal income tax rates to help pay for an armament budget which is squeezing him either off the land or out of existence: between April 1, 1950 and April 1, 1951, U.S. farm population decreased by 1,000,000.

But many an American farmer is kicking back. This month a new county organization of the Iowa Farmers Union was formed; the founding meeting adopted this declaration:

American farmers are now learning that the Truman Doctrine and its related cold war and hot police action programs are yielding the kind of harvest that the Iowa Farmers Union predicted.

In Washington the harvest is Mink Coat Government and influence peddling without parallel in American history.

Abroad the harvest is growing in distrust, suspicion and fear of America's global military plans.

At home the harvest is lengthening casualty lists, lowered living standards, oppressive taxation and debts, less family farmers, 75% of parity for hogs, and rapidly skyrocketing farm operating costs.

Our government's insistence on violating American traditions by supporting tottering monarchies with their oppressive systems of landlordism forcibly restricts the efforts of our fellow farmers throughout the world to achieve equality and land reform.

We therefore call on our government to abandon this un-American foreign program with its militarization of America and its accompanying violation of cherished American concepts. We wish to emphatically express our continued and unalterable opposition to UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

We call for a thorough house cleaning of all departments in Washington.

We reiterate our demands for full parity for American family farmers, including specifically livestock farmers.

We call on Secy. of Agriculture Brannan and President Truman to immediately use such authority as they now have to protect hog producers from the severe losses they are currently facing. We call on Congress for enactment of a farm program designed to guarantee parity for all family type farmers and which will assure them security on the land.

Labor: Humphrey set to 'improve' Taft-Hartley to kill free unions

By Elmer Bendiner

THE Taft-Hartley Law, in the words of former Sen. Claude Pepper, is "a bill to strangle the American democratic labor movement."

President Truman in his annual State of the Union message told Congress the strangling bill must be "improved." His supporter, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), a leader of Americans for Democratic Action, prescribed the steps for improvement in a 7-page interview in **U.S. News and World Report.** (Dec. 28).

Ex-pharmacist Sen. Humphrey is in a position to fill the prescription as chairman of the Senate subcommittee charged with investigating "communism" in labor and recommending legislation against it. Humphrey has been gathering suggestions for leaders in labor, industry and government, has scheduled public hearings for February. His interview was a first-draft blueprint for a forthcoming assault on labor, though he said he spoke only for himself, not for "the members of my subcommittee, all very individualistic and high-quality people." These include Republicans Taft (O.), Morse (Ore.), Ives (N.Y.); Democrats Neely (W. Va.), Douglas (Ill.), Pastore (R.I.).

"SPIRITUAL REDS": The big problem and real weakness of Taft-Hartley were summed up in this question to Humphrey:

"What can you do in the case of those unions that are known to be Communist, have been exposed as Communist and still go on and win elections as bargaining agents?"

Humphrey rephrased the problem: the T-H non-communist oath was good as far as it went but didn't cover the unionist who was "spiritually and morally a CP member." He added: "I think we have to go a good deal further than we have." He suggested that a union marked "communist" (he specified UE, for example),

". . . even if that union gets a majority, shall not be given bargaining status in terms of a collective bargaining contract."

Other steps suggested are to spread the loyalty oath, the screen and the purge from atomic energy plants to defense plants to all companies having contracts from the government.

SCUTTLING PARTY: The Senator, warning against the temptation to brand all unions—even CIO—as communist, reported this backfire:

"I've asked a number of workers, 'Why is it that you still belong to a union that is communist dominated?' And the answer is, 'Oh, haven't you heard? They say all unions are communist dominated.'"

Humphrey disclosed that the move to scuttle T-H repeal last session had the support of top CIO and AFL leaders despite their lip service to repeal. Here in the interview is the evidence of how "repeal" was sold out:

Q. "If you propose an amendment, would that precipitate a fight on the entire Taft-Hartley Act?"

A. "No, I don't think so, because we did amend the Taft-Hartley Act before."

Q. "Wasn't that because you had the unions to agree to the thing in advance?"

A. "Yes, we had the unions, but not in full agreement, may I say. Everything wasn't as rosy as it looked, but a good deal of hard spadework was done on the bill before the amendment was brought out and some clear-cut agreements were arrived at not to open up the whole subject. [Throughout the last session and up to the present the CIO, AFL, ADA, most Democratic Party Congressmen have committed themselves on paper to outright repeal of T-H.]

OLD STORY, NEW CHAPTER: Of pre-

HUBERT HUMPHREY
"Oh, haven't you heard?"

sent plans for "improving" T-H, Humphrey said:

"In what we have done so far we have had complete and wholehearted support of management and of labor-union officials."

The committee's starting point will be transcripts of the CIO trials which ended in expulsion of eight unions. The committee will publish the CIO proceedings as a government document, immune from libel charges.

U.S. News asked:

"Isn't this one of the advantages of congressional immunity?"

Humphrey: "Yes, indeed."

The **UE News** in a lead story denounced the forthcoming witch-hunt as "a new conspiracy against free unions."

(For data on Sen. Humphrey, see GUARDIAN, Aug. 15, 1951.)

In China — a new world

● **Penicillin and streptomycin,** the "miracle drugs" which the U.S. banned for export to China, are being manufactured in large quantities in China's People's Pharmaceutical Works and are available in Shanghai drug stores at prices lower than the formerly imported product.

● **High-speed rotary printing presses** of the Miehle type, formerly only to be had from the West, are now being turned out at the Shanghai People's Iron Works.

● Total value of 21 principal heavy-industry products (including steel, nonferrous metals, chemicals, electricity, machine tools) in 1950 was 2½ times 1949.

● As a result of the mass **flood-control** work involving over 2,000,000 workers, which was one of the first projects launched by the new people's government, the usual autumn floods of the Yangtze, Huai and Yi rivers failed to appear in 1951. In 2,000 years up to 1950 there were nearly 1,000 major floods from the Huai alone, causing countless millions of deaths among 60,000,000 peasants living in this river area.

● In Chekiang province, southeast China (pop. 20,000,000), peasants expected an overall 1951 income 157% higher than in 1949. In Sinkiang's Turfan Basin the **cotton** crop is a record (900,000 kilograms after ginning); North Kiangsu's cotton acreage is up 94.9% over 1949. **Sugar** production was expected to be 51% higher than 1949. Northeast **egg** production is highest in 15 years; South Szechuan's **rice** and **kaoliang** (sorghum) crops, best in 20 years.

● Shen Ti-lan, leading Chinese educator and former pres. of Medhurst (Chinese Christian) College, said there are now over 440,000 primary **schools** in China with over 37,000,000 students —a 45% increase over 1946, peak Kuomintang school enrollment year. One million new teachers for the regular schools are now being trained, to make a total teaching force of over 2,000,000. Last spring "there were 10 jobs for each college graduate."

(From China Monthly Review, 160 Yenan Rd. (Eastern), Shanghai, Nov. 1951).

Dear Howard:

Yesterday morning the mailman delivered your book, SPARTACUS. I had a busy day mapped out—so many hours for painting, so many for household jobs, some time for shopping. About 12 noon I sat down for a breather, lit a cigarette and picked up the book to examine it physically. I took a long look at Charles White's jacket design and thought it just right, and then I admired the typography and decided it was a beautiful book, and, just idly, my eye started roving over the first pages. I had no intention and no time to read it then—but the next thing I knew, Arthur's key was opening the door, and a hungry man was home from work expecting his dinner. I was in Rome or Capua (and of course I was Varinia), and there I stayed all through the hasty dinner we assembled.

Howard, I did not go to bed till I finished the last page and I wish that I could write like you just long enough to tell you what I think about it. But I know you want to hear from all kinds of people, not just writers or critics, so I don't hesitate to say to you that reading SPARTACUS was one of the greatest experiences of my life.

When I read it again, perhaps I can analyze just what it meant to me, but not now. Why did I feel happy and strong when I finished that account of a great tragedy of human effort and inhuman agony? I am suffused with a series of crystal-clear images which I will never forget, and happy in the wonder of it that there is no single greatness but many great people of all tribes, colors, and of both sexes who followed Spartacus. Once he was conscious of the need to struggle, he was never alone, and actually the heroic African gladiator was the first to act.

How glad I am to see women presented not alone as comforters to their men, but ready and able to fight actively side by side with them, expecting and wanting no special consideration. Wasn't it always so among the enslaved and working classes, and haven't we today the Rosalie McGees, the Amy Mallards and the Elizabeth Gurley Flynns?

. . My thanks to you for the book. Your work is a gift to all of us and we can only give you our deep affection and respect in return.

G————

Now I want you to read this book. I feel that it must be read. It must not be consigned—as was hoped by those who hate what I write and what I am—to silence and obscurity. I have gone to press with a cheap edition. It will be published February 1, and also in February, Liberty Book Club will use **Spartacus** as a selection.

Meanwhile, I am making a special pre-publication offer to GUARDIAN readers. I am offering the book to you for $2.50. I am doing this to get it read, to reach people, to let people know that there is such a book as this. Write to me at Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y. Put $2.50 in cash, money order or check in an envelope, and I will send you the book before February 1. If the 50 cents in cash presents problems, you can use stamps for that amount.

HOWARD FAST **Box 171**
Planetarium Station **New York 24, N.Y.**

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in Town Meeting tradition. **MARTIN HALL** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Donation: 60c.

CAN MORALITY PREVAIL IN POLITIC TODAY? Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. Hear T. V. SMITH, prof. Politics, Syracuse U.; founder, Chicago Round Table; former editor "Ethics," Illinois State Senator, U. S. Congressman. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM, 2936 W. 8th St., nr. Vermont. Admission free; collection.

Berkeley, Calif.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE NEWS? Hear Sidney Roger, commentator. Tuesdays, 8:15 p.m. Starting Jan. 8. Arts, Sciences & Prof., 3015 Shattuck Av., Berkeley. Donation: 50c.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES? Speaker: Earl Dickerson, pres. Natl. Lawyers Guild, member Natl. Bd. NAACP. Presented by Arts, Sciences & Prof. Lincoln School, Prince & Ellis Sts. Sun., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Admission 25c.

Chicago

HEAR ROSENBERG DEFENSE STORY. Speakers: Wm. Reuben, Natl. Guardian; Rabbi Samuel Teitelbaum, Rev. Dorothy Branch. Also dramatic skit "13th Juror." Feb. 6, 8 p.m. Temple Judea, 1227 So. Independence Blvd. Admission Free.

FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Feb. 1: **MASHENKA** (U.S.S.R.), **CHAPLIN FESTIVAL A** (3 Chaplin classics).

Philadelphia

PEACE TALKS NOW, a 15 minute dramatic radio presentation by the Progressive Party on radio station WDAS, Wed., Jan. 30. Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial broadcast.

Newark, N. J.

PARTY IN HONOR OF MORT BLOOM, exec. secy. N. J. Progressive Party. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. to ??? Masonic Temple, 188 Belmont Av., Newark. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment. Sub. $1.50.

New York

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Boston

PEACE IS POLITICS IN 1952. Hear: Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell Univ atomic scientist; C. B. Baldwin, natl. secy. of Prog. Party. Sun. eve., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Hotel Lenox, oor. Boylston & Essex Sts., Boston (near Copley Sq.). Admission $1. Auspices: Mass. Progressive Party.

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General

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RELIGION

Spellman sees 'Jewish' plot against envoy

BEFORE Christmas Francis Cardinal Spellman journeyed to the Philippines, Tokyo, Korea and Formosa, then on to Rome. The trip was timed with the political sagacity often, but not always, characteristic of the Cardinal. Having said Christmas mass at the front, he found himself in conference with the Pope at the most critical moment in 84 years of Washington-Vatican relations.

Spellman is generally credited for President Truman's decision to send an ambassador to the Vatican. According to Rome reports, the Vatican credits him also with a share in two of Truman's blunders: (1) the selection of a military man (Gen. Mark Clark) for the post at a time when the Pope is appealing to peacemakers; (2) miscalculating U. S. popular opinion so badly as to precipitate a storm that may rob the Vatican of most of its victory.

The first blunder was corrected last week when Gen. Clark turned the job down. The second blunder grows more serious by the hour as denunciation from leaders of virtually every Protestant church get louder and more insistent. But Pres. Truman announced he would press the issue with this Congress, naming another candidate.

HOW'S THAT AGAIN? To previous blunders the Cardinal added a third. He emerged from an audience with the Pope repeating his advocacy of a U. S. envoy, then told newsmen he was surprised at "Jewish opposition" and that no Catholic group had objected "when the question of sending a U. S. mission to Israel arose."

While some rabbis had spoken against the appointment of an ambassador, the opposition was so overwhelmingly Protestant and non-sectarian that it made Spellman's characterization sound like the bluntest anti-semitism heard from a churchman since Father Coughlin.

Comparing Israel with the Vatican seemed even more fanciful. Israel is an independent state of 1,400,000 people having a state religion as do England, Italy, Spain and the nations of Latin America. It exercises no control, spiritual or temporal, over any part of the world. The State of Vatican City has a population of 1,000 and to all intents and purposes exists solely as the capital of Roman Catholicism.

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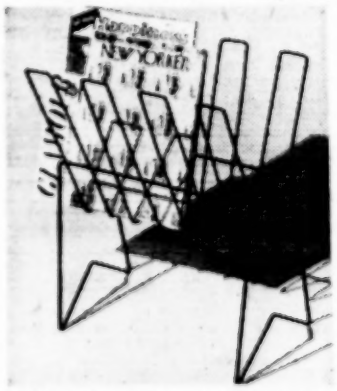

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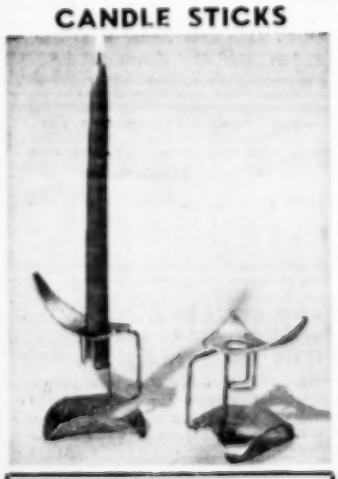

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PEACE

Washington warriors push UMT hoax

LAST June Congress adopted a Military Draft and Training Act which, unbeknownst to a great many Americans, gave Congressional approval to the principal of universal military training (a euphemism for peace-time conscription) and prescribed a procedure for its quick adoption in the present session. Under the act, a five-man commission (James W. Wadsworth, former Congressman; William L. Clayton, former Under-Secy. of State; Dr. Karl T. Compton, board chairman of the Massachusetts Inst. of Technology; Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, controller of the Army; Adm. (retd.) Thomas C. Kincaid) was appointed to draft a UMT plan for the U.S. in violation of its entire history and tradition.

The bill is now before Congress with both the House and Senate bound to act upon it within 45 legislative days from Jan. 8; it has a "privileged" status, requiring no clearance from the House Rules Committee, no majority assent in the Senate. Chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) of the House Armed Services Committee has announced that hearings will be restricted to proposals of the commission; opposition will not be heard.

GOOD FOR THE MORALS: The plan calls for conscription of all U.S. males at age 18 for six months' basic military training (deferments limited to medical or physical reasons only); they will remain in the reserves for 7½ years subject to call at any time. Full operation of the plan calls for 800,000 youngsters to go through the military mill each year at a cost of $4,187,983,600 the first year, more than two billion annually thereafter, with the aim of building up a reserve force ranging from 4,000,000 to 6,400,000 men.

Proponents of UMT argue that it will do away with Selective Service and a large standing army, but admit that an overhead establishment of one trainer for each two trainees will be required. Other standard arguments are that the military training will improve the morals and character of teen-agers.

A Gallup poll reported that 61% of persons questioned were in favor of the plan, but when draft age was lowered to 18½ years last year, protest mail to Congress was the heaviest in history.

JUDGMENT OF HISTORY: Government backers of UMT, with carefully-worded statements, have sought to make it appear that UMT is already the law of the land. They are hoping to head off opposition with a proposed one-year "test run" whereby 60,000 18-year-olds will "volunteer" for their six-months training followed by 18 months' active service as reservists. Defense Secy. Robert A. Lovett urges adoption of this plan "as soon as possible"; Asst. Defense Secy. Anna Rosenberg favors it because the U.S. needs "a young reserve, not a married reserve."

Actively promoted in Congress for six years, UMT is now closer to passage than ever before. A group of 26 leading U.S. historians has written a pamphlet (distributed by the Natl. Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.), and came to these findings:

> **An examination of history thus leads us to the conclusion that a system which has not brought peace or security to those nations which have tried it is not likely to work differently for the U.S. Rather, the influence of the military would gradually but surely reach into every American home, church, school, and factory. Over a period of years there would be a tendency to respect the word of a General just because he is a general and a tendency to accept more and more military control over science, education, and industry. If America once submits to regimentation of its boys in peacetime, it will be difficult if not impossible to prevent the extension of the compulsory idea to other areas. . . .**

Prestes case spotlighted as Rio conference nears

WITH the approach of the Inter-Continental Peace Conference which opens March 11 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, progressives in France launched a powerful campaign in behalf of Luis Carlos Prestes and other Brazilians sought by police or jailed for opposing war moves and dictatorship. In Paris a French Committee for the Defense of Prestes—poet and popular hero known as "Knight of Hope" and "the Bolivar of the new American independence"—held a Franco-Brazilian Friendship mass meeting on Jan. 18, Prestes' 54th birthday.

Regards, Paris

Jailed in 1936 after the defeat of the Brazilian liberation forces whose leader he was, Prestes was released in 1945 and for three years traveled throughout Brazil mobilizing the people for peace and freedom. His German-born wife had been murdered in a Nazi concentration camp while he was in jail, and his mother who toured Europe in his behalf finally died in exile in Mexico. Prestes was elected a Communist Senator for Rio de Janeiro by overwhelming majority, but with the banning of his party in 1948 his mandate was "canceled." He disappeared into underground activity and, now hunted high and low by the police of the same President Vargas who jailed him in 1936, he "would undoubtedly be killed if found," according to Brazilian people's author Jorge Amado.

COPS' "EDUCATIONAL" HUDDLE: The administration against which the peace movement fights in Brazil can be measured by the fact that the country now shelters such persons as Herbert Cukurs, war criminal named in the Nuremberg trials, former Nazi ambassador to Brazil Karl Ritter, and dozens of former Italian Fascist chiefs including Vittorio Mussolini. The Prestes Defense Committee pointed out that Vargas promised before election an amnesty of victims of political persecution, but that when the amnesty law was presented to Parliament Vargas' own party voted against it. In December,

> **. . . in the presence of the Minister of Justice (representing the President) a meeting of police chiefs was held in the Ministry of Education in Rio to streamline the persecution and present concrete plans for reform of the penal code, the electoral law and even the constitution.**

A powerful fight for peace continues in Brazil. In response to an appeal from the fugitive Prestes, the people demonstrated in the streets against sending Brazil's youth to Korea; one mother was jailed for four years for exhibiting at the 1950 Independence Day parade a banner: "OUR SOLDIER SONS WILL NOT GO TO KOREA." But now in formation is a 25,000-strong Korean expeditionary force, and 100,000 young men are to be called into the armed services in 1952 when the war budget will amount to $450,000,000. Meanwhile 80 of every 100 babies born in Brazil die before reaching one year, 70% of the people are illiterate.

> **(Prestes is about to be tried, in absentia unless Vargas' police can find him. Protests to: 3rd Criminal Court Judge, D. Manuel St., Palace of Justice, Federal District Foro, Brazil.)**

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